

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 HA-05 /085 W  
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R 021945Z JUN 78  
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1739  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, CY  
SUBJECT: CYPRUS: SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON UN  
OPERATION IN CYPRUS, DECEMBER, 1977 - MAY, 1978

1. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT ON THE UN OPERATION  
IN CYPRUS, DECEMBER 1, 1977 - MAY 31, 1978, WAS ISSUED  
ON JUNE 2. THIS REPORT FOLLOWS CLOSELY THE SAME FORMAT  
AND OVERALL CONTENT AS PREVIOUS REPORTS WITH THE  
EXCEPTION THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS WERE  
INCLUDED IN THE REPORT'S ANNEX. ALSO, THE OBSERVATIONS  
SECTION IN THIS REPORT IS CONSIDERABLY MORE EXTENSIVE.  
HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS SECTION ARE QUOTED BELOW. COPIES  
OF THE REPORT HAVE BEEN POUCHED TO IO/UNP, EUR/SE,  
AND TO OTHER ADDRESSEES.

2. REGARDING THE CONDITIONS IN THE NORTH, "ALTHOUGH  
STILL NOT ENTIRELY CONSONANT WITH THE AGREEMENTS  
REACHED IN VIENNA ON AUGUST 2, 1975, THE SITUATION  
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HAS IMPROVED DURING THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. UNFICYP  
NOW ENJOYS INCREASED FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, AND UNFICYP  
PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK IN  
PRIVACY TO GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE AREA. THERE HAS BEEN  
A RELATIVE IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVING CONDITIONS AND  
THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS IN THE  
NORTH. I HAVE EVERY HOPE THAT THIS TREND WILL CONTINUE."

3. ON MISSING PERSONS, THE REPORT NOTES "THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES CONCERN THE TERMS OF REFERENCE AND PROCEDURE OF THE PROPOSED COMMITTEE, ESPECIALLY THE ROLE WHICH THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ICRC WOULD BE ASKED TO TAKE ON IN THE COMMITTEE'S PROCEEDINGS. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS HAVE BEEN TAKING AN ACTIVE PART IN THE CONSULTATIONS."

4. ON THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS, THE REPORT STATES THAT THE SYG UNDERTOOK INTENSIVE EFFORT TO FACILITATE CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THE RESULTS HAVE REMAINED DISAPPOINTING. "IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE CAUSE OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS CANNOT BE SERVED BY CALLING FOR TALKS WHEN THERE IS NO AGREEMENT ON THE NEGOTIATING BASIS AND WHEN ONE OR OTHER PARTY IS NOT WILLING TO PROCEED WITH MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. FOR THIS REASON I HAVE ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR TO ALL CONCERNED THAT ANOTHER ROUND OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS COULD ONLY BE CONVENED IN CONSULTATION WITH BOTH PARTIES AND WITH THEIR CONSENT. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF FACTORS WHICH INEVITABLY COME INTO PLAY IN A SITUATION OF THIS KIND. IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE NOT ONLY THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BUT DEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE THAT WERE THOUGHT LIKELY TO AFFECT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM HAVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CREATED A SITUATION IN WHICH THE AGREEMENT OF BOTH PARTIES TO RESUME THE TALKS HAS NOT MATERIALIZED. I AM THEREFORE UNDERTAKING FURTHER CONSULTATIONS IN AN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. THE PRESENCE OF THE LEADERS OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED IN NEW YORK FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DISARMAMENT HAS GIVEN ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THESE CONSULTATIONS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL.

AS LONG AS THESE CONSULTATIONS ARE IN PROGRESS, AND AS LONG AS THE ATTENTION OF THE PARTIES IS STILL FOCUSED ON CERTAIN PROCEEDINGS OUTSIDE THE AREA, IT WOULD OF COURSE BE PREMATURE TO OFFER ANY DEFINITIVE CONCLUSIONS. HOWEVER, SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS MAY NOT BE OUT OF PLACE AT THIS STAGE.

SINCE THE DECISION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF 12 MARCH 1975 ENTRUSTING ME WITH A NEW MISSION OF GOOD OFFICES, THE MAIN PROBLEM CONFRONTING THE PARTIES AND MYSELF HAS BEEN TO GENERATE AN EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATING PROCESS THAT WOULD LEAD TO SOLUTIONS, CONSTITUTING A

PACKAGE DEAL FREELY ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, ON THE  
MAIN ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE FIRST PROBLEM  
IN THIS REGARD - THE LACK OF AN AGREED FRAMEWORK - WAS  
NOT OVERCOME UNTIL 12 FEBRUARY 1977 WHEN THE LATE  
ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AND MR. DENKTASH, MEETING IN MY  
PRESENCE, AGREED ON SUBSTANTIVE GUIDELINES FOR THE  
INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. THE SECOND PROBLEM CONCERNED THE  
RELUCTANCE OF ONE OR BOTH OF THE PARTIES  
TO PUT ON RECORD THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS. THIS  
WAS DEALT WITH IN APRIL 1977, WHEN THE GREEK CYPRIOTS  
SUBMITTED TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND THE TURKISH  
CYPRIOTS SUBMITTED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS, FOLLOWED

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NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 /126 W  
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BY DOCUMENTS ON THE LATTER ISSUE SUBMITTED BY THE  
GREEK CYPRIOTS. FINALLY, THE  
TURKISH CYPRIOTS ON 13 APRIL 1978 PUT FORWARD THEIR  
TERRITORIAL PROPOSALS AND REVISED CONSTITUTIONAL  
PROPOSALS. NOW THAT THE PROCESS OF SUBMITTING INITIAL  
PROPOSALS ON THE MAIN ISSUES HAS BEEN COMPLETED, IT  
IS POSSIBLE TO MEASURE WITH SOME ACCURACY THE DISTANCE  
THAT SEPARATES THE CONCEPTIONS OF THE TWO SIDES. IN  
THIS REGARD IT IS OF COURSE DISAPPOINTING, THOUGH  
NOT ALTOGETHER SURPRISING, THAT IT HAS STILL NOT PROVED  
POSSIBLE TO REACH A STAGE WHERE A GENUINE NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS COULD EVOLVE OUT OF THEIR CONFLICTING POSITIONS.  
LOU

I HOLD TO THE BELIEF THAT THE SETBACK EXPERIENCED OVER THE PAST WEEKS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO FRUSTRATE THE SEARCH FOR A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM BASED ON THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF BOTH COMMUNITIES. AS REGARDS THE PROCEDURAL ASPECTS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THERE MAY IN FACT BE NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES. BOTH PARTIES HAVE STRESSED THAT THEY CONTINUE TO ACCEPT THIS PROCEDURE. WHILE ONE OF THEM HAS SUGGESTED AN INTEREST IN POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES, IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCH APPROACHES WOULD NOT BE INTENDED TO REPLACE THE TALKS BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES CONCERNED. WHATEVER THE FORMAT OR VENUE, THE SAME SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO BE FACED BY THE SAME PARTIES, SINCE THEY ARE THE ONES THAT WILL HAVE TO LIVE WITH WHATEVER SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS MAY BE DEvised.

AN AGREED BASIS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF MEANINGFUL INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WOULD OF NECESSITY HAVE TO ENCOMPASS THE POSITIONS AND FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES IN CYPRUS, AND IT WOULD HAVE TO HOLD OUT TO BOTH THE PROSPECT OF A TANGIBLE IMPROVEMENT OVER THE CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT SITUATION. IT IS EVIDENT THAT NEITHER SIDE IS AT PRESENT PERSUADED THAT THE PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY THE OTHER MEET THESE CRITERIA. I MIGHT ADD THAT THE STATUS QUO MUST NOT BE ASSUMED TO CONSTITUTE AN AVAILABLE VIABLE ALTERNATIVE, SINCE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS ELEMENTS OF INSTABILITY ARE INHERENT IN THE PREVAILING SITUATION.

AT THE SAME TIME, I FEEL THAT THE TIME MAY BE RIPE FOR A CONCRETE ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE EXISTING STALEMATE ON THE GROUND, THUS CREATING AN OPENING FOR FURTHER SIGNIFICANT STEPS. THIS APPROACH MAY ALSO SERVE TO ELIMINATE CERTAIN ANOMALOUS SITUATIONS WHICH HAVE TENDED TO POSE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF PAST ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH THE BROADER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROBLEM. THE STATUS OF VAROSHA, WHICH OBVIOUSLY SHOULD NOT BE KEPT IN ITS PRESENT EMPTY AND DECAYING CONDITION, MAY PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY OF THIS KIND.

SINCE VAROSHA IS SITUATED IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF THE BUFFER ZONE AND IS PATROLLED BY UNFICYP TROOPS, IT WOULD SEEM NATURAL TO ENVISAGE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE IN THIS CONNEXION.

ANOTHER OBVIOUSLY ANOMALY THAT COMES TO MIND IS THE SITUATION AT THE NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, WHICH REMAINS UNDER UNFICYP CONTROL BUT IS NOT OPEN FOR TRAFFIC. AN AGREEMENT TO REOPEN THE AIRPORT, INITIALLY FOR UNITED NATIONS USE, WAS REACHED AT THE THIRD ROUND OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS HELD IN VIENNA IN AUGUST 1975, BUT HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED. IN MY CONVERSATIONS IN VIENNA AND NICOSIA IN APRIL 1978 I SUGGESTED THAT THE PROBLEM BE REOPENED. MY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, MR. GALINDO-POHL, IS PURSUING THE MATTER.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IS DIFFICULT, BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT THE PROBLEMS ARE NOT INHERENTLY INSOLUBLE. ALL OF THEM, HOWEVER, REQUIRE A WILLINGNESS OF EACH SIDE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE REALITY OF THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE OTHER, AND THE NECESSITY FOR CONCESSIONS. I AM DETERMINED TO CONTINUE MY EFFORTS TO BRING THE PARTIES CLOSER TOGETHER WITH A VIEW TO WORKING OUT AN APPROACH TO NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO CONVENE ANOTHER ROUND OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS." YOUNG

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## Message Attributes

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